2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

for a short time during the coldest part of the year. There can be no doubt that these houses were very unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq.* This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these people. "In very ancient times a race of people who dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 773 great whales." So much did the Ainu despise these supposed "little men."

But the whole crux of the matter lies in a word, and philology has been very hardly dealt by sometimes. Take two instances only as examples of what I mean. In studying Hebrew it was once remarked by a student that it seemed to him that the principle of the language was this: "Every consonant is interchangeable with the others and the vowels do not count!" But to get nearer home, a gentleman was once very much exercised as to the derivation of the Japanese word, *neko*, "cat." He thought, and thought, and thought again on the problem. At last he said to himself, "Cats eat rats and seem to be very fond of them. Now the word for "rat" is *nezumi*, and "to be fond of" is *konomu*. Now I clearly see the reason. *Ne* is the first syllable of *nezumi*, "rat," and *ko* is the first syllable in *konomu*, "fond of." So we have *ne-ko* "fond of rats!"

Koropok-guru, as these supposed dwarfs are named, can by no manner of reasonable means be made to mean "dwarfs" or "dwellers beneath the petasitis." Its unforced, simple meaning is "people who live below," *i.e.* "pit-dwellers." And I believe these pits were none other than those which the ancient Ainu, Tungus and Oroks tribes used to live in, as men do even now at times in the north. I repeat, we find no names of places in Hokkaidō in any strange language. To Anra, however, in his hysterical ravings, these beings were very real, and according to him they were wild, spiteful, intolerant and malevolent demons.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161
[144
162]
773

Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu.

The following folk-lore, showing how Aeoina, after doing what he was set to do on earth, forgot himself so far as to return to heaven unwashed and clothed in his old earthly garments, and was therefore sent back again to wash and change, is interesting.

"The divine Aeoina is called *Ainu rak-guru* by some, and this means 'Person Smelling of Men.' This is the way he came by such a name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first man, he stayed on earth with him for a very long time, teaching him and his children how to hunt and live. While in the world he lived just as the people did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing as they. When he had finished all that had been given him to do, he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his earthly garments. On reaching Paradise, all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking into one another's faces, exclaimed, 'Dear! dear! What a strong smell of men there is! Whence can it come?' On making a closer inspection they found it to come from Aeoina, who still had his earthly garb on. He was therefore requested to go back to earth immediately and divest himself of his human clothes. Having done so, he returned once again to heaven, and lo, the smell of men had departed from him!"

Here is another peculiar story about Aeoina making man. It runs thus:

"When Aeoina made man he formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his backbone of a stick of willow. When, therefore, a person grows old his back bends in the middle." The same story variously told is as follows:

"After the world had been created and set in order, God made many herbs and trees to grow out of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 ground. When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him, He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a man has grown old, his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer."

571 During my sojourn among this people, I used frequently to hear the younger folk call one another by such names as "Crook-back," and "Mangy, aged deer," but I could never see wherein the sting lay till I was made acquainted with this legend. Having learned it myself, I tried it on one or two people, but instead of their getting angry I was only rewarded with fits of laughter, which produced the effects I wanted.

829 The Ainu are very anthropomorphic in their ideas of the Divine, and they ascribe mistakes to the gods somewhat freely. They often treat them as equals. Even the divine Aeoina was not perfect, as the curious tale now to be cited shows.

772 "When God was in the act of making the first man
773 and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for him unexpectedly to return to heaven on important business. Just before setting out, He called a river otter which happened to be near, and told him He was going away, but would very soon send another deity to finish the job, and he, the otter, was to deliver a certain message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would be sure to give the message, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by going up and down the rivers catching fish and gorging himself with their flesh. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message—yea, the otter clean forgot all about it. This is why the first man was made so imperfect. As a punishment for this delinquency and astounding forgetfulness, God inflicted him with a bad memory—yea, He took his memory clean away. This

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is why the otter can remember nothing at all now." 772
Thus, then, the appearance of the Ainu upon earth is 773
all owing to the divine Aeoina, and his imperfections
are all owing to the imperfections of his maker and
the otter.

I know of a certain place called "Axe-rock." It is in shape more or less like a big, broad axe lying with the edge up. It is a small hill lying a little way off the end of a big mountain to which it is connected by a low, narrow neck, which is taken for the axe helve. I was once told that this is supposed to be one of the sixty axes with which the divine one knocked Yezo into shape. The Ainu idea of creation is by no means like that of many Europeans, for they thoroughly believe that "nothing produces nothing." *Ex nihilo nihil fit.*

When writing about the status of women in a 000
previous chapter, I mentioned how the fact of the Western coasts of Hokkaidō being so very rough and rugged is accounted for by the garrulity of a woman, who, instead of attending to her business in a proper manner, went gossiping with another woman and so in the end, working too hurriedly in order to make up for lost time, finished her task in a very slovenly manner. This making of Hokkaidō was simply a knocking of the island into shape and thereby rendering it fit for habitation. The Ainu take it for granted that matter is eternal.

Given the primal elements, they strive to account 82
for the many different kinds and manifestations of organic life, and also for the existence of inorganic substances, in their own rude and thoroughly animistic way. Being the sons of nature that they are, they are fond of theorizing about what meets the eye, and often allow their imaginations to run away with both judgment and reason to an absurdly ridiculous extent. According to them, there is very little difference between vegetable, animal and spirit life—between the life of a plant and that of a reptile, man, demon, angel

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

82 or god. Indeed, they look upon Heaven and God as the macrocosms and the earth and man as the microcosms, and as it is above, so is it below.

● 773 As for producing things, the Supreme God is supposed to have made the world, a demon made rats and some such vermin, while Aeoina, the divine one, made snakes, eels and some other beings. Some things, such as fish, for example, were formed out of bones cast out of Heaven after a celestial feast. Hares were evolved out of hair plucked from the skins of heavenly deer; squirrels were made out of the cast-off shoes of Aeoina, while some fishes came out of the scales of such of these creatures as had been eaten in Heaven. The skylark is really a heavenly bird which was banished to this world for disobedience. Bears and sea-lions came out of sparks. We have already accounted for the origin of fleas.

The beautiful flower, the adonis, is said to have been a Goddess, who was changed from her real heavenly state and banished to this earth by a curse from God and the pine-marten. Frogs had their origin in a woman who was cursed for bad conduct, and the grebe and diver kind, in general, are said to have been developed out of the uneatable parts of a trout. It is a very great jumble out of which a clever story teller might manufacture tales *ad libitum* and *ad infinitum*. In fact, as some of us understand Darwin, in the Ainu we

[172]

A STONE AXE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

find that gentleman out-Darwined entirely. With them 773
evolution has run riot.

"In the beginning," so runs the tale, "the world was a great slushy quagmire. It was in a shocking condition. The waters were at that time hopelessly mixed up with the earth, and nothing was to be seen but a mighty ocean of bare, sloppy swamp. All the land was mixed up with it and aimlessly floating about in the endless seas. Nothing existed in this chaotic mass and nothing stirred, for it was altogether incapable of sustaining life; nor were there any living fowls flying in the airy expanse above. All was cold, solitary and desolate. However, the clouds above had their thunder gods, the skies above, their living creatures, and the Creator abode in the highest heavens with mighty hosts of subordinate deities.

"By and by the Great God—the True God—determined to render the world habitable. He therefore made the water-wagtail and sent him down to produce the earth. When he descended and saw the dreadfully shocking condition the elements were in, and how they were mixed up in confusion, he was almost at his wits' end to know how to perform his allotted task. But he thought of a way, for he fluttered over the waters with his wings, trampled upon the muddy matter with his feet, and beat it down with his tail, till, after a very long time of fluttering, trampling, and tail-wagging, dry places appeared, and the waters became the ocean. In this way the world was gradually raised up and made to stand out of the waters, and caused to float upon them. Therefore the ancients called the world *mo-shiri*, i.e. "floating land," and hold the water-wagtail in great esteem—for was he not the angel of God?"

The Ainu never think of God as working without means, and as has already been stated, in creation He is said to have used as many as three score mighty axes and many very big hammers and mattocks which, when done with, he cast away and they gradually, in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 decomposing, turned into marshes, swamps and bad water, among other things.

I have a further legend by me which refers to the water-wagtail and his help in creation. It is very short and runs thus:

"In very olden times, when God determined to create the world, He caused a water-wagtail to come down out of Heaven to assist Him. The way he helped was like this: God made him fly down from above and settle on the rough places He Himself had already cast up with His mattocks and axes, and, in order to make the ground level, ordered him to hop and jump about on it, scratch it with his claws, flap with his wings, and wave his tail up and down. Thus it happens that at the present day whenever this bird is seen he is certain to be found beating the earth with his tail."

829 It would appear that the Creator was not always infallible in His choice of localities in which to place the creatures He made. The following story will show what I mean. It has reference to the race of the bears and sea lions.

000 One day, as I and a native companion came riding over a high spur of a mountain down toward the sea-coast, we heard a great bellowing out at sea. It sounded like some monsters fighting. It was not far from my friend's home and I asked him what it was. He at once pointed to a flat rock about a mile out and told me the noise came from there. He said it was made by
[134] a big school of sea-lions which had come there, as they did every year at that season, for breeding. The bellowing was a challenge to the mountain gods, i.e. bears, to come down to fight. I told him I would like to hear all about this when we reached his house, where I was to stay. The following is his story.

773 "Many of the larger of the wild animals, both of the sea and land, have the same origin as the demons

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of disease. They came into the world in this way. Once upon a time, when they lived upon earth, the deities had a great desire to smoke tobacco, and, in order to procure a light, got sticks of silver birch and rubbed them together. They rubbed and rubbed for a very long time, but instead of bright fire nothing came out but black and dull yellow sparks, and these were quite incapable of producing good, bright fire. No sooner did the sparks appear than some at once turned themselves into bears, while the yellow ones became demons which originated some kinds of illnesses. This being the case, the gods cast away their sticks and got flints which they struck together. These made nice bright sparks which very soon became fire.

A STONE KNIFE

After they had finished their smoke and were now about to return to Heaven, they threw some of their flints into the sea and the rest upon the earth. Those which fell upon the dry land became sea lions, and those which were thrown into the sea turned themselves into great whales.

"Now it happened that the bears and sea-lions were quite unable to live at peace, but spent their whole time quarrelling, fighting and tearing one another. God would not allow this to go on, so, in order to determine which should live upon dry land and which should be banished to the sea, He called them to him and caused them to have a race and so settle the matter. They assembled at the appointed time and place, where they strove hard for the mastery. The bears won the race, and were therefore allowed to remain on the dry land,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

T73 while the sea-lions were vanquished and were ordered to depart to the sea. These creatures have never been at all satisfied with their lot, so at a certain time every year they come and bellow toward the mountains and challenge the bears to come and do battle."

136 As my friend told me it would be quite safe to row out to the rock and see the creatures, I one day got a man to take me there. The nearer we approached, the more they bellowed. They plunged off the rock into the sea and completely surrounded the boat with their heads toward us. I really thought we should have been attacked and drowned. But my friend handed me [825] a good sized stick he had brought along and asked me to strike the edge of the boat continuously with it. With the first noise I made by a blow, they drew off and we were allowed to climb upon their rock and inspect. It was quite smooth and flat and there was nothing on it. As soon as we left, the animals at once returned to it and the bellowing began again all around.

My friend showed himself very friendly while I was with him, and when telling me about the race between bears and sea lions, related other stories, such as the following, all of which have something about bears in them. Said he, "I must now tell you about the marten and the racoon.

T73 "The marten and racoon were both made by the Creator to act as servants to bears. This is the reason that those little divinities reside in and about the dens of these deities. Their special duties are to act as cooks and drawers of water. Among them may be seen some with black faces. These are the cooks, and they get black through working among pots and kettles. The common racoon is a very good deity indeed, and when a person intends to offer one in sacrifice, he should send round to his friends and invite them, saying 'The cook of the God of the Mountains is about to be sent away, come ye and rejoice.' Then when all the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

people have assembled, he should be killed and sent away."

Having told me these old stories about the bear and sea-lion, the marten and racoon, he proceeded to say a few things about bear and wolf worship.

He said: "The most gentle and well behaved bears are called *Nupuri-koro-Kamui*. (This may mean equally well 'Deities who possess the mountains' or 'Most precious divinities'; the latter is what I think it really means in this place). They have their home in the middle of the mountains (i.e. in the very interior of the country) and their garments are ornamented with stripes of gold, silver and bronze. One must never fail to do worship to such when he happens to meet them. The most wild and dangerous are called *Nupuri-kesh-unguru*, i.e. 'Creatures residing at the foot of the mountains.' Their clothes are ornamented with stripes like bloodred thread. These are a very wild kind and sometimes attack and slay people. Such bears are not to be worshipped. They don't deserve it." This little story being finished, I asked him to give me one more before we retired for the night. And so he said, "I will now tell you about the wolf.

"The divine wolf is clothed in white and his home is on the eastern side of the mountains. In the beginning he resided in Paradise, but, having a great desire to live upon the earth, he descended and took up his abode with the good bears. He is truly a most precious and brave divinity, and is, moreover, very quick in action. Now, if a person is pursued by an evil bear, he should call upon the wolf in a very loud voice to come to help him. If he does so with a true heart the wolf will without fail come and kill the bear and deliver the man. Therefore the wolf is a divine being who ought certainly to be worshipped."

These are exceedingly curious matters and I can not help thinking that there is lying under the surface more than at first sight is apparent to the eye. I have

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground, I following behind. The sparks from the touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

"The world we live in is, under the Creator, governed by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

father-snake has his dwelling there and reigns as king over all his tribe." 773

I was very much interested to find that the chief, in common with others, believed that in Hades snakes have human forms. Said he to me, "Snakes live in large communities in the underworld, and there they assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just as we have, and their food consists largely of dew." Some go further and tell us that in Hades these reptiles keep dogs and go hunting and fishing and live exactly as the Ainu do in this world. But their resemblance to men and women is quite superficial and extends only to the outward form. Their inward nature is decidedly diabolical. They only assume the form of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing harm to human beings. 825

"As his origin is divine, the snake is of a very haughty disposition. Inasmuch as he is a very quarrelsome being, he is never mentioned by name, but called by an alias. From the very beginning the snake was desirous of doing evil; nevertheless, if fetishes are made of walnut wood and presented to him with the words, "Thou art a good God," he will be much pleased and render help. Again, if snakes are treated in a slighting manner they cause sickness. Yet, if they cause illness it may be cured by making fetishes of the walnut tree and offering these to them with worship.

"In olden times a certain man, in order to get some firewood, chopped at a tree. And, as it happened, that tree had a hole in it. But he did not know there was an honourable snake inside, so he chopped away, cut the snake in two from the middle and killed it. Taking no more notice of it, he returned home. Afterwards the man became very ill and his eyes smarted; moreover, his body ached and with pain his skin peeled off him. So the men met together and made many 539 [753]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he informed me that the pattern of the original household fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself; not by Aeoina, but by the True God. The following is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his father before him. It is short but to the point, and runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was first made by the True God, Who, after He had made him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth, where he is worshipped together with his wife—the Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of the corner at my request, and brought it to me for examination. I asked him to explain how it was made. This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called the *setoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in. This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The sun and moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule the skies and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work during the day only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen to cross the heavens in company. The divine sun has the brightest and best clothing to wear; this is why he shines so clearly. His garments consist of white embroidery, and he has a larger body than his wife. The moon is like a round cake of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments worn one over the other. That this is so may be seen by looking at her with care. Now, the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case it is because she has gone to visit her husband. So say the ancient ones."

(In the above legend the sun is said to be of the masculine gender; yet the people often speak of this orb as being a goddess).

"When the Creator made the world, the Evil One did all he could to frustrate His designs, especially with regard to human beings. Now, after all things were made, Satan perceived that men could not possibly live without the light and warmth-giving sun. He therefore made up his mind to destroy this beautiful work of creation, and thereby injure men. So he got up very early one morning, long before the sun rose, with the intention of swallowing it. But God detected his design and made a crow to circumvent him. When the sun was rising the evil one opened his mouth to swallow it; but the crow, who was lying in wait, flew down his throat and so saved the sun. Hence the crows, remembering the benefits they once conferred upon the human race, have an idea that they may do just as they please with men and live upon the food they provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families. Thus we find that they have good

2; Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 cause for being so bold and saucy, and it is not for men to say that crows are useless creatures."

Another legend tells us that it was not only one crow which flew down Satan's throat, but many, and that it was while he was busy getting rid of the feathers from his mouth that the sun rose and it became daylight.

The moon does not enter so much into Ainu lore as the sun, yet the following story of the man in the moon is of interest.

"In ancient time there was a lad who would neither obey his father nor his mother, and who even disliked to fetch water; so, the gods being angry, they put him in the side of the moon as a warning to all people. This is the man in the moon. For this reason let all the world understand that the words of parents, whether they be good or evil, must be obeyed."

In explaining this to their children, the mothers say as follows:

"There was a lad who, though told to draw water, still sat idle and, with a big knife, remained by the hearth and chopped at the wooden frame. Presently he dawdled out and, striking the doorpost as he passed, said, 'Ah me! you are but a doorpost, yet you do not have to draw water!' Then, carrying the ladle and bucket, he went down to the river. Soon he saw a little fish coming up stream to which he said, 'Ah me! because you are a fish, you dreadfully bony creature, you do not have to draw water.' Proceeding farther along he saw a fine big salmon, to which he said, 'How do you do, Mr. Salmon!'

"But Mr. Salmon took hold of him at once and carried him off to the moon and placed him in it. Thus did the angry god to him who was disobedient and refused to draw water at once, but tardily dawdled off grumbling."

821 I have heard very little said about the stars. They are indeed called gods at times, but they are not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
226 the scales of a snake, and divers from the entrails of a pike. What he said was this:—

773 "The scales of a snake formed themselves into pikes and this is a true account of their origin. As both gods and men detected a snaky flavour when they first tasted the pikes, they refused to eat any more, so a god came along, who killed some of them, and said, 'How is this? You are not at all good fish, for you can not be eaten.' He then tore their stomachs open and threw the entrails away. But, as it was impossible that the entrails should come to nothing, they turned themselves into divers. Then the gods took some pikes and boiled them and found them to be of a very nice flavour. Ever since that time both gods and men have eaten of the pike kind." It may be added here that, according to my informant's ideas, the pike family is very closely related to the trout and includes it.

But to return to the swordfish. A friend told me the following remarkable story about them:

539
226 "One day two gentlemen went out together to spear swordfish, and at length managed to harpoon a very large one. He was so lively and strong that he dragged the boat from one end of the ocean to the other. They tried hard to hold on to him, till one of the men fainted and was dragged overboard and drowned. The other one hung on to him, however, so that big blisters came up on his hands. He then cursed the fish and said, 'O thou wicked swordfish, I will now cut the line which holds thee. As the harpoon head is made of iron, thou shalt suffer much from the noise of clinking iron and grating bones within thee. As the line is of hemp, a plain of hemp shall grow out of thee. As the rope is of linden bark, a forest of linden trees shall grow on thy back, and when thou diest thou shalt become an island.' And so it all happened. The island was made and birds and animals came to in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself. 789

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very large number of deities have their homes here. When the time came for me to marry, I looked about my dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed. 773 776 789

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over [251]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773
776
789
[251]

which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.* But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears. So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man and must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

tail and hung me upside-down, suspended from the pot-hook over the fire. And I found it very warm there.

"After a little, Shamai said, 'Come, I'm very hungry, and the salmon is thick and frozen clean through. Put on more wood and cook it quickly.' So the sister went out and brought in a big armful of wood, which she threw on the hearth, and made a great roaring fire under me. My poor head began to get very hot and then burn. So fierce was the fire that I went crack, snap, phiz all up my back. My fat spluttered and flew out. My soul withdrew right up into my tail and it seemed as if I must soon be quite burnt up. In haste, then, I slipped out through the end of my tail, broke the eastern end of the house roof, and with a mighty shout, making the world echo and echo and echo again with my roar, returned to my own celestial dwelling-place.*

A HEARTH-RAKE

AN EATING-BOWL

"I was very angry at this and said within my heart, 'That thing of a Shamai is a creature of the miserable earth; he was born a despicable Ainu. As for me, I'm a mighty god. I really thought that that beast of a Shamai, having been born a contemptible man of the earth, would be far inferior to me in the powers of magic. But he has beaten me this time; and I won't stand it.' I was exceedingly angry and determined to go for him again.

*The mere man got the better of the celestial being, who was sent off badly discomfited. Thus the man won the first magical contest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 776 789 "So when the time came, I once more descended from my heavenly home and went to Shamai's house. But he and his sister were again out in the mountains, hunting bears together. Well, I arrived at their empty house. I entered and took Shamai's very own personal eating bowl down from the shelf and examined it. Presently I hid it carefully away and transformed myself into another exactly like it and set myself in its place upon the shelf. And so I sat and waited. Presently I heard their footsteps returning in the distance. On they came as before, the sister hastening in through the door and the brother going round to the east end window to hand in the meat. There were two very large bundles of it. They were both tired after their hunting and the walk home with such big loads, so they sat down and made a nice big fire. Presently Shamai said to his sister, 'Did you wash my eating bowl before we went out this morning?' 'No,' she answered. 'Well then,' he said, 'make some water scalding hot and give it a thorough washing.' So she rose and hung a big pot full of water over the fire. As soon as it was properly boiling, she took her brother's bowl down from the shelf. Then I thought, 'Well, if she puts me into that boiling water, I shall certainly be killed.' But she did so. She tossed me right in. I sunk a little way down and then slipped out as quick as lightning and rose up from the water. Through the west end of the roof of the hut I escaped with a mighty crack and went up to my celestial home with a tremendous bellowing sound. Aye, it was a narrow escape!

"I came to my house and entered in. I sat down in wrath and thought thus, 'I imagined that Shamai, being but a poor worm of a man, was greatly inferior to me in magic, as I am a god of heaven. But I have again found him my better.' Oh, how angry I was! Now I made up my mind to have no more jesting, but go for him in earnest. I would pay him a visit openly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and appear in my celestial body. So I dressed in my heavenly raiment and went down. I came to Shamai's house and stood before the door, but, being still full of wrath, I could not bring myself to enter as a guest. So there I stood and waited.

"Soon after, Shamai's beautiful sister came out to me and said, 'If you do not like to enter our home and stay as an honoured guest, being angry, I will not ask you to come in. But look over yonder. See! Look at that beautiful house of mine; it is made of silver. Do you see it? Go in there and sit down. You may stay there.' So I entered the pretty little silver house, it being now nearly dark, and sat down. And there I stayed. Anger was still rankling in my breast. To myself I said, 'I am a great god, but that mean Shamai is but a man, low-born and in every way earthly and contemptible. Yet he has beaten me in magic.' Thus I sat there in anger thinking as to how I might meet him.*

"I seemed to wake up as from a dream, and when I came quite to myself, I found that I was sitting in a filthy malodorous cesspool just outside the house. It was covered in and I really had thought that it was the lady's beautiful bower, but that lady had sent me right into that muck and my beautiful garments were in a filthy condition and the smell was shocking. Although I am a mighty god, yet that mere man, Shamai, and his cunning sister were my superiors in the art of magic. I then became convinced that I could never hope to overcome them. And I was filled with wrath.

"As soon as I got my senses quite back, I went up through the roof of the little house with a mighty crack and roar; and with the very heavens ringing with my cry. I came to my celestial home. I at once washed

*As the sequel will show, the beautiful young woman spurns him and, in fact, hypnotises him. He is no match for either the brother or sister.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

myself and my garments and then entered my house. Here I sat and brooded and was extremely angry. My divine brothers soon came home, and when they had entered and rested a little, one of them said, "When we came through the yard outside we encountered a very bad smell. It was most horrible. Whatever could it have been? It was not at all a heavenly odour. Where did it come from and what was it?" But being very much ashamed of myself, I kept quite silent. A few days after, as I was sitting alone by the hearth, my elder brother came in and scolded me roundly for what I had done. Said he, 'You are a great fool. Why did you go to vie with Shamai and his sister in magic? Have you never heard that from times of old these have been far more powerful than any of the gods? Human though they be, yet they have the essence of the gods. You are a prince of fools.'" The translator feels that to comment on this very wonderful and dramatic story would be to spoil it.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe the soul to exist apart from the present material body after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

> The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.
>
> The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater
[765] part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

533 Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which
535 the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

773 The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or
777 less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the two peoples are so surprisingly different in character and in their ways of thinking. 773 177

The mythologies of the Japanese and Ainos are essentially distinct. After eliminating from the latter numerous stories, which are obviously imitations or adaptations of Chinese or Japanese tales, there remains a totally distinct series of narratives, handed down verbally from an unknown source and perhaps from a very distant age.

The mythology of the Japanese is a remarkable development of ancestral worship. The Mikado traces his descent to the sun, the common ancestor of the Japanese people. The system treats of the exploits of gods and heroes, the latter being elevated to places among the kamui to be revered and worshiped. There is scarcely a moral teaching in it. It is a kind of hero worship, but the hero may be a very wicked sinner.

The Aino myths, on the other hand, usually have a moral application. The Ainos have but few great heroes. The subjects of their tales are mostly beasts and birds. These are the gods of the Ainos, as well as the actors in his fairy-land. It would extend this report to an undue length to reproduce all the stories translated by Professor Chamberlain, Dr. Scheube and Mr. Batchelor, but some of them may well be given to indicate their general character. Dr. Scheube has given three quite interesting tales concerning the Japanese hero Yoshitsune, who is supposed to have visited the Ainos in the twelfth century, and to have taught them various useful things. There is also a strange story of a Japanese girl who was disobedient. Her father put her into a box and threw it into the sea. It was borne northward by wind and wave, and finally landed in Yezo, where the town Ishikari now stands. A dog came along and broke open the box with his teeth. The maiden was still alive. As she saw the dog she said to herself, "I have been disobedient to my father at home, therefore I have fared so badly. Here where there are only dogs I must obey them that I may not again be punished. In my earlier stage of existence it was predestined that I should marry a dog." So she married the dog and the two lived happily together, and she brought forth a child whose body was covered with long black hair, and other hairy children. These were the first Ainos. It is doubtful whether this is an Aino legend. It is more probably of Japanese origin.

The following stories are selected from the translations of Prof. B. H. Chamberlain and Mr. J. Batchelor:

HOW IT WAS SETTLED WHO SHOULD RULE THE WORLD. 773 539

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the creator had finished creating this world of men, the good and the bad gods were all mixed together promiscuously, and began disputing for the possession of the world. They disputed—the bad gods wanting to be at the head of the government of this world and the good gods having a similar desire. So the following arrangement was agreed to: Whoever, at the time of sunrise, should be the first to

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

T13 539

see the luminary, should rule the world. If the bad gods should be the first to see it rise, then they should rule; and if the good gods should be the first, then they should rule. Therefore both the bad gods and the brilliant gods looked toward the place whence the sun was to rise. But the fox-god alone stood looking toward the west. After a little time the fox cried out, "I see the sun rise." On the gods, both good and bad, turning around and gazing, they saw in truth the refulgence of the sun in the west. This is the cause for which the brilliant gods rule the world.

WHY THE COCK CAN NOT FLY.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the Creator had finished making the world and had returned to heaven, he sent down the cock to see whether the world was good or not, with the injunction to come back at once. But the world was so fair that the cock, unable to tear himself away, kept lingering on from day to day. At last, after a long time, he was on his way flying back up to heaven. But God, angry with him for his disobedience, stretched forth his hand and beat him down to earth, saying: "You are not wanted in heaven any more." That is why, to this day, the cock is incapable of any high flight.

ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the world had only recently been made, all was still unsettled and dangerous, for the crust of the earth was thin. It was burning beneath, and unstable, so that the people did not dare venture outside of their huts even to obtain food, for they would have scorched their feet. Their necessities were relieved by the god Okikurumi, who used to fish for them, and then send his wife, Turesh, round with what he caught. She every day popped in at each window the family meal for the day. But the conditions of this divine succor was that no questions were to be asked, and that none should attempt to see Turesh's face. Well, one day a certain Ainu, in one of the huts, not content with being fed for nothing, must needs disobey Okikurumi's commands. Curious to see who was the lovely ministering maiden, he watched for the moment when her hand with food in it appeared at the window, seized hold of it and forcibly pulled her in, disregarding her screams. No sooner was she inside the hut than she turned into a wriggling, writhing sea monster. The sky darkened, crashes of thunder were heard, the monster vanished, and the hut was consumed by lightning. In punishment of that one man's curiosity, Okikurumi withdrew his favor from the whole race and vanished. Ever since then the Ainos have been poor and miserable.

According to another tradition, which seems to be among those most widely spread, the Japanese hero Yoshitsune arrived on the scene some time after Okikurumi had begun teaching the Ainu men how to fish and hunt, and Turesh had begun teaching the Ainu women how to sew. Being of a wily disposition, he ingratiated himself so well with the divine pair that they bestowed on him their only daughter in marriage. The wedding took place at Piratori, in the district of Saru. Yoshitsune was thus enabled to penetrate the secrets of the Ainos. By a fraud, to which his wife was an unwilling partner, he obtained possession of their treasures and of their books and fled, carrying all with him. Okikurumi and Turesh, incensed at this insult, disappeared through a cavern at the summit of Mount Hayopira, near Piratori. Since that time the Ainos have lost the art of writing and of pottery, and have taken to buying their clothes, etc., from the Japanese. When interrogated on any point on which they are at a loss for an answer, the almost invariable Ainu reply is, "We do not know, for we have no books. Those that our ancestors had were all stolen by Yoshitsune."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

A VISIT TO THE UNDERWORLD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

A handsome and brave young Aino, skillful in the chase, one day pursued a large bear into the recesses of the mountains. On and on ran the bear, and still the young fellow pursued it up heights and crags more and more dangerous, but without ever being able to get near enough to shoot it with his poisoned arrow. At last on a bleak mountain summit, the bear disappeared down a hole in the ground. The young Aino followed in, and found himself in an immense cavern, at the far extremity of which was a gleam of light. Toward this he groped his way, and, on emerging, found himself in another world. All was as in the world of men, but more beautiful. There were trees, houses, villages, human beings. With them, however, the young hunter had no concern. What he wanted was his bear, which had totally disappeared. The best plan seemed to be to seek it in the remoter mountain district of this new world underground. So he followed up a valley, and, being tired and hungry, picked the grapes and mulberries that were hanging on the trees, and ate them while walking leisurely along.

Suddenly, happening to look down on his own body for some reason or other, what was his horror to find himself transformed into a serpent! His very tears and cries on the discovery of the metamorphosis were changed into snake's hisses. What was he to do? To go back like this to his native world, where snakes are hated, would be certain death. No plan presented itself to his mind. But unconsciously he wandered, or rather crept and glided, back to the mouth of the cavern that led home to the world of men; and there, at the foot of a pine tree of extraordinary size and height, he fell asleep. To him then, in a dream, there appeared the goddess of the pine tree and said: "I am sorry to see you in this state. Why did you eat the poisonous fruits of Hades? The only thing for you to do, if you wish to recover your original shape, is to climb to the top of this pine tree and fling yourself down. Then you may, perhaps, become a human being again." On awaking from this dream the young man, or rather snake, as he found himself still to be, was filled half with hope, half with fear. But he decided to try the goddess' remedy. So gliding up the tall pine tree, he reached its topmost branch, and, after a little hesitation, flung himself down. Crash he went. When he came to his senses he found himself standing at the foot of the tree; and close by was the body of an immense serpent, all ripped open, so as to allow of his having crawled out of it. After offering up thanks to the pine tree and setting up divine symbols in its honor, he hastened to retrace his steps through the long tunnel-like cavern, through which he had originally come into Hades.

After walking for a certain time he emerged into the world of men, to find himself on the mountain top whither he had pursued the bear which he had never seen again. On reaching home he dreamt a second time. It was the same goddess of the pine tree who appeared before him and said: "I come to tell you that you can not stay long in the world of men after once eating the grapes and mulberries of Hades. There is a goddess in Hades who wishes to marry you. She it was who, assuming the form of a bear, lured you into the cavern and thence to the underworld. You must make up your mind to come away."

And so it fell out. The young man awoke, but a grave sickness overpowered him. A few days later he went a second time to the underworld, and returned no more to the world of the living.

PANAUMBE PENAUMBE AND THE WEEPING FOXES.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

There were Panaumbe and Penaumbe. Panaumbe went down to the bank of the river and called out: "Oh, you fellows on the cliff behind yonder cliff; ferry me across." They replied: "We must first scoop out a canoe. Wait for us." After a little while

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

T73
539

Panaumbe called out again. "We have no poles," said they; "we are going to make some poles. Wait for us." After a little while longer he called out a third time. They replied thus: "We are coming for you. Wait for us." Then the boat started—a big boat, all full of foxes. So Panaumbe, having first seized hold of a good bludgeon, feigned dead. Then the foxes arrived and spoke thus: "Panaumbe, you are to be pitied. Were you frozen to death, or were you starved to death?" With these words all the foxes came up close to him and wept. Thereupon Panaumbe brandished his bludgeon, struck all the foxes and killed them. Only one fox did he let go, after breaking one of its legs. As for the rest, having killed them all, he carried them home to his house and grew very rich [by selling their flesh and skins].

Then Penaumbe came down to him and spoke thus: "Whereas you and I were both equally poor, how did you kill such a number of foxes and thereby become rich?" Panaumbe replied, "If you will come and dine with me, I will instruct you." But Penaumbe at once said, "I have heard all about it before," and went out. Descending to the bank of the river, he called, crying out as Panaumbe had done. The reply was: "We will make a boat at once. Wait for us."

After a little while he called out again. "We are going to make the poles. Wait for us," said they. After a little longer they started a whole boat full of foxes.

So Penaumbe first feigned dead. Then the foxes arrived and said: "Penaumbe here is to be pitied. Did he die of cold, or did he die from want of food," with which words they all came close to Penaumbe and wept. But one fox among them—a fox who limped—spoke thus: "I remember something which once happened. Weep at a greater distance." So all the foxes sat and wept further and further away.

Penaumbe was unable to kill any of these foxes, and as he brandished his bludgeon they all ran away. Not one did he catch, and he himself died a lamentable death.

THE HARE GOD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

Suddenly there was a large house on top of a hill, wherein were six persons beautifully arrayed, but constantly quarreling. Whence they came was not known. Thereupon Okikurumi came and said: "Oh, you bad hares. You wicked hares. Who should not know your origin? The children in the sky were pelting each other with snowballs, and the snowballs fell into this world of men. As it would have been a pity to waste heaven's snow, the snowballs were turned into hares, and those hares are you. You who live in this world of mine, this world of human beings, must be quiet. What is it that you are brawling about?' With these words Okikurumi seized a firebrand and beat each of the six with it in turn. Thereupon all the hares ran away. This is the origin of the hare god, and for this reason the body of the hare is white, because made of snow, while its ears, which are the part which was charred by the fire, are black.

THE WICKED WIZARD PUNISHED.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

One day a wizard told a man whom he knew that if any one were to go up a certain mountain peak and jump off to the belt of clouds below, he would be able to ride about on them as on a horse and see the whole world. Believing this, the man did as directed, and in very truth was enabled to ride about on the clouds. He visited the whole world in this fashion, and brought back with him a map which he had drawn of the whole world, both of men and gods. On arriving back at the mountain-peak in Aino land, he stepped off the cloud on to the land, and, descending to the valley, told the wizard how successful and delightful the journey had been, and thanked him for the opportunity he had given him of thus seeing so many strange sights.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

The wizard was astounded, for what he had told the Aino was a wicked lie, invented with the sole intention of causing the death of the man, whom, for reasons best known to himself, he hated. Still, as that which he had meant as an idle tale was apparently an actual fact, he decided to see the world himself in this fashion. So, going to the top of the mountain and seeing a belt of clouds a short way below, he jumped on to it, but was simply smashed to pieces in the valley beneath. That night the god of the mountain appeared to the first (good) man in a dream and said, "The wizard has met with the death which his fraud and folly deserve. You I kept from hurt because you are a good man. So when, in obedience to the wizard's advice, you leapt off onto the cloud, I bore you up and showed you the world in order to make you wiser. Let all men learn from this how wickedness leads to condign punishment."

LEGEND OF A FAMINE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

There was a woman who was ever sitting by the window and doing some kind of needlework or other.

In the window of the house there was a large cup filled to the brim with wine, upon which floated a ceremonial moustache-lifter.

The ceremonial moustache-lifter was dancing about upon the top of the wine cup. In explaining the subject from the beginning and setting it forth from the end, the tale runs as follows:

Now look, do you think that the great god, do you think that the true god, was blind?

In Ainu land there was a great famine and the Ainu were dying for want of food, yet with what little rice-malt and with what little millet they had they made (a cup of) wine.

Now the great god had mercy, and, in order that our relatives might eat, produced both deer and fish.

And the great god had mercy upon us, therefore he looked upon us and, in truth, saw that in Ainu land there was a famine, and that the Ainu had nothing to eat. Then was that cup of wine emptied into six lacquer-ware vessels.

In a very little while the scent of the wine filled the whole house.

Therefore were all the gods led in and the gods of places were brought from everywhere, and they were all well pleased with that delicious wine.

Then the goddess of the rivers and the goddess of the mouths of rivers danced back and forth in the house.

Upon this the gods laughed with smiles upon their faces;

And while they looked at the goddesses they saw them pluck out two hairs from a deer;

And, as it were, blew them over the tops of the mountains; then appeared two herds of deer skipping upon the mountain tops, one of bucks and the other of does.

Then they plucked out two scales from a fish, and, as it were, blew them over the rivers; and the beds of the rivers were so crowded with fish that they scraped upon the stones, and the tops of the rivers were so full that the fish stood out like the porches of houses and were dried up by the sun.

So the things called fish filled all the rivers to the brim.

Then the Ainu went fishing and caused their boats to dance upon the rivers.

The young men now found fish and venison in rich abundance.

Hence it is that Ainu land is so good. Hence it is that from ancient times till now there has been hunting. Hence it is that there are inheritors to this hunting.

LEGEND OF THE LARGE TROUT.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

At the source of the Saru River there is a large lake.

In this lake there was a monster trout which was so big that it used to flap its (pectoral) fins at one end and wave its tail at the other.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 Then the honorable ancestors met and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

Because then they very much desired to kill the fish, the gods, who had a special regard for the welfare of Ainu land, sent help from heaven.

And the gods descending, they seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

Upon this it plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great trout to the surface of the water, brought it ashore.

Upon this all the honorable ancestors drew their swords and chopped the fish till they quite killed it.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of the monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the Shikot-tō (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

[821 823] It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i. e.*, so far as Ainu land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called Tokushish, *i. e.*, "trout," and sometimes Mosiri ikkewe chep, *i. e.*, "the backbone fish of the world."

LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

By [redacted] John Batchelor.

The goddess felt lonely and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the house.

She went out, and behold,

The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu land. Yes, that is what she saw.

So she returned into the house backwards and took down the needlework.

Again she looked at the point of her needle and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof.

Then came a little bird, called "water wagtail," and sat upon the window shutter and wagged its tail up and down and waved it from right to left.

Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside surface of her ears, and what she heard was this:

The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu land, went out of doors for a little while and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu land will depart.

Then the little bird called "water wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

Thus then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that, though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

Dear, dear, how badly he felt.

Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve and saw the beautiful woman.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

T13
539

He got up greatly rejoicing; he ate some food; strength came back to his body, and—the woman was gone.

Okikurumi saw he had been deceived, but there was nothing to be done and nothing to say; so he got well.

POIYAUMBE.

By Mr. JOHN BATCHELOR.

We three, my younger sister, my dear brother, and I, were always together.

One night I was quite unable to sleep; but, whether what I now relate was seen in a dream or whether it really took place, I do not know.

Now I saw upon the tops of the mountains, which lie towards the source of our river, a great herd of male deer feeding by themselves. At the head of this great herd there was a very large speckled buck; even its horns were speckled. At the head of the herd of female deer there was a speckled doe skipping about in front of its fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled my belt, winding it once around my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened my leggings, made of grass, to my legs, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favorite sword in my girdle, took my quiver sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark, by the middle, and sallied forth.

The dust upon the road by the river side was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and really seemed to go along upon the clouds. Now, my elder brother and younger sister were coming along behind me.

And as we went along, in truth, we saw that the mighty mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does; the bucks had a speckled male at their head, even its horns were speckled; there was also a speckled female deer skipping about at the head of the does.

On coming near them I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the thickest of the herd, so that the mountains became covered with the multitude of those which had tasted poison (*i.e.*, which had been hit with poisoned arrows). And my older brother, shooting into the thickest of the herd of does, killed so many that the grass was completely covered with their bodies; within a very short time the whole herd, both of bucks and does, was slain. How was it that that which but a short time since was a deer became a man? That I can not tell.

With angry words he said to me: "Because you are a brave Poiyaumbe and your fame has spread over many lands, you have come hither with a purpose of picking a quarrel with me, but, however brave you may be, I think you will probably find that you are mistaken."

When he had spoken so much, this lordly person drew his sword with a flash and struck at me with powerful strokes; in return I also flashed out my sword, but when I hit at him with mighty blows there was no corresponding clashing sound. It was extremely difficult to come upon him; it was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. Though this was the case, though it was difficult to strike him, and though I did not realize that I was struck, yet much blood spurted out of my body. That abominable bad man was also bleeding profusely.

Whilst things were going on in this way, my elder brother and younger sister met with the speckled doe and both attacked it with drawn swords. With great fear they fought; and when I looked I saw that my elder brother was cut in twain; as he fell he put out his hands and raised himself from the earth. I then drew my sword and cut him twice or thrice, so that he became a living man again. Then riding upon a sound like thunder, he quickly ascended to the skies and again engaged in the fight. I now heard a sound as of another person being slain elsewhere; it was my younger sister who was killed. With a great sound she rode upon the sun (*i. e.*, she died with a groan). Upon this the bad foreign woman boasted, and said that she had slain my younger sister and thrown her to the earth. Then the two, the woman

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 and man, fell upon me with all their might and main, but I struck the bad woman twice or thrice, so that she rode upon the sun; she went to the sun a living soul. Then the bad, malignant man, being left alone, spoke thus: "Because you are a Poiyaumbe and the fame of your bravery has spread over many countries, and because you have done this, know ye that the place where I live is called Samatuye. The two, my younger brother and sister, are the defenders of my house, and they are exceedingly brave. Thus, then, if I am slain by you, my younger brother will avenge my death and you will live no longer. You must be careful."

Now I made a cut at that bad, malignant man, but he returned the blow, and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for long space or a short, I know not; but when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me and striking hither and thither with the sword, and with the left I was seizing the grass and tearing it up by the roots.

So I came to myself. And I wondered where Samatuye could be and why it was so called. I thought that name was given to the place to frighten me, and I considered that if I did not pay it a visit I should be laughed at when I returned home, and thus feel humiliated.

Therefore I looked up and discovered the track by which this multitude of persons had come. I ascended to the path and passed very many towns and villages. And I traveled along this path for three days and three nights, in all six days, till I came down upon the seashore; here I saw many towns and villages.

Here there was a very tall mountain, whose top extended even into the skies; upon its summit was a beautiful house, and above this circled a great cloud of fog. I descended by the side of the house, and, stealthily walking along with noiseless steps, peeped in between the cracks of the door and listened. I saw something like a very little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace staring into the fire, and I saw something like a little woman sitting on the left-hand side of the fireplace.

Here again was a woman who in beauty excelled my younger sister. Now, the little man spoke thus: "Oh, my younger sister, listen to me, for I have a word to say. The weather is clouding over and I am filled with anticipation. You know you have been a prophet from a child. Just prophesy to me, for I desire to hear of the future."

Thus spake the little man. Then the little woman gave two great yawns and said: "My elder brother, my little elder brother, listen to me, for I have a word to say. Wherefore is my brother thus in anticipation? I hear news from a distant land; this is news coming from above the mountain of Tomisanpot. The brave Poiyaumbe have been attacked by my elder brother without cause, but a single man has annihilated my brother and his men. Whilst the battle proceeds a little Kesorap comes flying across the sky from the interior; and, though I earnestly desire to prophesy about it, some how or other it passes out of my sight. When it crosses the sea it darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish; coming straight towards our town is the clashing of swords, the sword of a Ya un mau and a Rep un mau; blood is squirting forth from two great wounds; the sword of the Rep un mau goes in to the setting sun and is lost; the handle of the sword of the Ya un mau shines upon the sun. Although our house was in peace it is now in danger. In speaking thus much my eyes become darkened. Pay attention to what I have said."

As she said this, I pretended that I had but now arrived, and knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil just outside the house I lifted the door screen over my shoulders and stepped inside. They both turned round and looked at me with one accord; with fear they gazed at me from under their eyebrows. Then I walked along the left-hand side of the fireplace with hasty strides.

I swept the little man to the right-hand side of the fireplace with my foot, and, sitting myself cross-legged at the head thereof, spake thus: "Look here, little Samatuye man, I have a word to say; attend well to me. Why has your elder brother, the Samatuye man, attacked us without reason? Has he not done so? As you have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

stirred up this war without reason, you will be punished by the gods; you will be annihilated. Listen to what I have to say. Besides, although I am a wounded man, I will overthrow your town. Listen to what I say." And when I had said so much, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with such blows that the wind whistled. We ascended to the ceiling fighting, and here I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated upon the threshold. They were as thick as swarms of flies; so I cut them down like men mow grass.

Whilst this was going on the little woman said: "Oh, my brothers, why did ye commit such a fault as to attack the Poiyaumbo without cause? Was it that ye desired to slay those who had no desire to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the Poiyaumbe. Listen to my words."

When the little woman had thus spoken, she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the men at the door like grass; we fought side by side. Fighting so, we drove them out of the house, and when we looked at them, there were but a few left, but behind them stood the little Samatuye man; yes, he was there. In a very short time these few persons were all killed. After this I went after the Samatuye man with hasty strides, and drew my sword above him. I struck at him with heavy blows. The Samatuye woman also stood by my side and hit at her brother with her dagger.

In a short time he received two or three cuts and was slain. After this the little woman wept very much, and spake, saying: "As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a man without friends. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, oh Poiyaumbe. Listen to what I say."

AN AINO RIP VAN WINKLE.

In conclusion comes the story of Rip Van Winkle, told in so many forms by so many peoples. It should be compared with the legend of the fisher boy Urashima and his Pandora's box, which Professor Chamberlain has so well rendered in verse from the Japanese. The translation of this Aino version is also by the same pen.

A certain Aino went out in a boat to catch fish in the sea. While he was there a great wind arose, so that he drifted about for six nights. Just as he was like to die, land came in sight. Being borne on to the beach by the waves, he quietly stepped ashore, where he found a pleasant rivulet. Having walked up the bank of this rivulet for some distance, he descried a populous town, in whose neighborhood were crowds of people, both men and women. Proceeding to the town itself, he found an old man of divine aspect, who said to him: "Stay with us a night and we will send you home to your own country to morrow. Do you consent?"

So the Aino spent the night with the old chief, who next morning addressed him as follows: "Some of my people, both men and women, are going to your country for purpose of trade. So, if you will put yourself under their guidance, you will be able to go home. When they take you with them in the boat you must lie down and not look about you, but completely hide your head. That is the condition of your return. If you look, my people will be angry. Mind you, do not look." Thus spoke the old chief. Well, there was a whole fleet of boats, inside which crowds of people, both men and women, took passage. There were as many as five score boats, which all started off together. The Aino lay down inside one of them and hid his head, while the others made the boats go to the music of a pretty song, which he much enjoyed. After a while they reached the land. When they had done so the Aino, peeping a little, saw that there was a river, and that they were drawing water with dippers from the mouth of the river and sipping it. They said

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Aino was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Aino into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1884. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions [191] of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, [82] and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), [103] and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
776 *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] ange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

[782] Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[778] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[769] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
[778] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which
[844] appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or
823 representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual,
776 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

[782] We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 776 532 773 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 776 532 [789] [171] Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby conflagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 776 552 532 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indicates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[796]

[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifuna-rep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

422
[353]
[523]
[77]
[342]
422
411
[531]
[789]
[755]
422
789
[777]
● [773]
[532]
353
342
[513]
[264]
342
574

HEARTH AND HOME

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[304 789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual [881] relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattooing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

● [773] But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824 386] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622 554] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43 and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 823 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mountain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4, 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui* mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 776 772 65 Return of the bear spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear, guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from